

Alexander's campaign across the Hindu Kush: Genealogy and political history of his Successors

IMTIAZ KHAN, Master Degree in Archaeology, University of Peshawar, Pakistan, PhD Candidate in Archaeology, Department of History and Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Ioannina. Pakistan
Email: imtiakhan_pm@yahoo.com

Introduction:

Often a question arises that what were the motives, which compelled Alexander the great to launch the toughest expedition of his career across the Hindu Kush? It might be his zeal to become invincible like his ideal Achilles or there were some political reasons i.e. the Gandhara and some India regions were the part of Persian Empire and they also fought against Greeks with Persian army. Whatever motives were behind this great expedition but it left everlasting impact on Indo-Pakistan political, cultural and art history. Hellenism penetrated in such a manner that there is not even a single aspect of Indo-Pakistan history, and culture where we cannot trace the Greek influences. Though, a great deal of research work has been done on the Greek impact on the Indo-Pak art and architectures but only a few scholars try to trace the cultural links between Greek and Indo-Pakistan. Besides art and architectures, we can also observe Greek impact on the languages and folk art of Pakistan. Even in present days a number of Greek words still survive in the languages spoken in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Pushtuns, Pakhtuns or Pukhtuns the largest ethnic group of north Pakistan and the Kalasha tribe still dance in circle like Greek. All the above mentioned aspects of cultures need separately research and scientific analysis. It is my greatest desire to publish all the Greek impact on the folk art of Pakistan in a series of articles. In this regard, the current article is my first attempt to shed light on some controversial matters of the genealogy, political history and regional division of Indus-Greek and Bactrian-Greek. Though the history of Achaemenian and Greek is not a new topic and we have a good amount of brilliant work by a number of scholars and there may be a little for me to discuss but most of the previous work is based on literary sources. In my present article, I am trying to present a clear cultural profile and political history of Bactrian and Indus-Greek, which may be based upon the scientific approach, the current archaeological expeditions in north Pakistan and numismatics evidence. The other important issue, which pushed me to type a few words about the route, adopted by Alexander the great beyond the Hindu Kush. To conclude the matter here the intended studies in this field shall bring new perspectives for future researchers.

Political condition of Indo-Pakistan before the Greek occupation:

Gandhara was the subject Province of Achaemenid Empire from 6th century B.C.E till Alexander's invasion. Achaemenid level has been identified in the lowermost levels of M. Wheeler's excavations at Charasadda and Professor Dani's excavation at Balambat Dir (Ali Ihsan: 2003:5). Sir Johan Marshall, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902-1928) came across with clear evidence of Persian and Hellenistic foundations during his excavation of the city of Taxila in the Punjab, Pakistan. Same foundations were unearthed by his successor Sir Mortimer Wheeler, at the Bala Hisar of Charsadda and he suggested that these settlements were originally outposts of the Persian Empire (Harrison: 2009: 231). Now the questions arise, when and which Persian king first time annexed Gandhara? These are the questions unfolded by the Behsitun relief (520-18 B.C.) of King Darius-I. H.C. Rawlinson first time deciphered the huge trilingual inscription on the rock of Behsitun, which was published by 1846 in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Rawlinson's English translation in column 1. Part 5-6 Darius claims, "Par. 5. Says Darius the King: - By the grace of Ormazd, I am (I have become) king; Ormazd has granted me the empire."

Par. 6. "Says Darius the King: - These are the countries which have fallen into my hands-by the grace of Ormazd I have become king of them- Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those which are of the sea, Sparta and Ionia; Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthis, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, The Sacae, The Sattagyde, Arachosia, and the Mecians, the total amount being twenty-one (twenty-three?) Countries" (Rawlinson: 1846: xxvii; Bloomfield: 1908: 14; Docherty: 2008: 10; Humbach & Ichaporia: 1998: 71; Briant: 2002:172-3; Faria: 2007: 64; Miller: 20011: 68; Voeglesang : 1989: 31;Sing: 2008: 264; Puri: 1993: 31; Arnason, Eisentadt & Wittrock: 2004: 417).

The above mentioned inscription clearly indicates that Darius-I did not occupy Gandhara by himself rather he inherited these regions including Gandhara from his grandfather Cyrus. It is also clear that his father Hystaspes could not extend his empire as he was mostly engaged to control the inner revolts in his empire. So, It must be under Cyrus who first time annexed Gandhara and incorporated as a province into the Achaemenid Empire. (Rapson: 1914:84; Miller: 20011: 68; Sen: 1999:117; Sagar: 1992: 20; Tripathi: 1992: 115). It might happen about 530 B.C., as most of the scholars agreed on this date (Greenberger: 2003:12; Dandamaev & Voeglesang: 1989: 31; Avari: 2007: 92 ;).

In the Bihstun inscription, he did not mention about the rest of the India. But in the later inscriptions at Persepolis (518-515 B.C.E) and at Nakshi-i-Rustam(515 B.C.E) as well as Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet inscriptions we come across with the word Hindu(Sen: 1999:117; Briant: 2002:172-3; Sagar: 1992: 21; Gupta:1999: 190; Rothermund & Kulke: 2004: 56;) The word Hindu indicates here India which might be comprised of the present Sindh, Punjab and some portion of Ganges. It shows that the above stated regions were annexed by Darius-I. According to Herodotus that before conquering Sindh and Punjab, Darius conducted a detail survey of the Indus area in 517 B.C.E, headed by a Ionian Greek geographer Scylax(Vassili-

ades: 2000: 22; Miller: 2001: 68; Grunwedel: 1999: 10; Garbbe: 2004: 127; Sarton: 1952: 127) . Scylax books ΓΗΣ ΠΕΠΙΟΔΕΣ had been lost but he was constantly quoted by later historians.

As Herodotus refers him in his book 4, section 44, “The greater part of Asia was explored by [the Persian king] Darius, who desired to know more about the river Indus, which is one of the two rivers in the world to produce crocodiles. He wanted to know where this river runs out into the sea, and sent with his ships Scylax, a man of Caryanda. They started from the city of Caspatyrus in the land of Pactyike, sailed down the river towards the east and to the sea. Sailing westwards over the sea, they came in the thirtieth month to the place from whence the king of the Egyptians had sent out the Phoenicians of whom I spoke before , to sail round Africa” (Herodotus: book IV: section 44).

The city of Caspatyrus is identified with Kabul and most of the scholars agreed that he might commenced his voyage east on the Kabul river joining Indus river near Peshawar, Pakistan which lead him south to the mouth of Indus river near Karachi. He ended his journey at Suez, the western end of Red Sea before submitting his report in Darius I court. It took thirty months to accomplish this exploration (Wheeler: 1854: 198-99; Kerr & Edin: 1824: 44; Rawlinson: 1859: 37).

Herodotus further mention the Indian made up the twentieth province of Achaemenian empire. He also mentioned that it was one the richest satrapy of Achaemenid Empire and Indian delivered three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust in taxes alone a vast sum (Herodotus:Book III. Section 94; Bamm Peter: 1968:84). It is also believed that the people of this land have always been fighting with Greek on behalf of the Persians. Punjabis and Pathans had fought in the camp of Xerxes(486-465 B.C.) in the Battle of Thermopy (Sen: 1999:117) . They again fought against Alexander in the camp of Darius III (Dar: 1998:174). And it came to pass that Darius III received Elephant corps from his Indian ally king Poros of Jhelum against Alexander the Great (Prakash: 1994:31). Research by the British Archaeological mission to Pakistan and the Pakistan Heritage Society led to discovery of Achaemenian artefacts at Akra (Bannu) (Ali Ihsan & Qazi Naeem: 2008:4).It shows that even the most southern part of the present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of Pakistan was a part of the Achaemenian Empire. Achaemenian rule over was ended with the invasion of Alexander the great.

Alexander's campaigns

As part of his campaign after occupying Persian Empire Alexander proceeded to India to conquer all the territories which once included in the Persian Empire. We can divide his campaign into two stages. In the first stages, he conquered the north part of Indo-Pakistan and in second stage, he crossed the Indus and entered into the Punjab. It is evident that after defeating Darius, he planned his campaign in his new founded Alexandria Nikaia modern Kapisa (Woodcock: 1966:30; Dar: 1986:179). In May 327 B.C, Alexander advanced toward India. It is said that he divided his Army into two groups after passing through Nawa Pass

in Bajuar Valley (Ali Ihsan & Qazi Naeem: 2008:4). He dispatched a large group under his generals Hephæstion (Ἡφαίστιον) and Perdikkas (Περδίκκας) to move along the river Kabul and to subjugate and to build a bridge on the mighty Indus River before his arrival there. While the rest of the army he led himself and defeated the Aspasioi (Bajuar tribe). His first few operations took him a considerable distance up to the large and populous valley of the Kunar River between Dir and Kohistan. The Bajuar tribe collected themselves in their stronghold and gave Alexander a fierce resistance at the mouth of Arigaion (Nawagai) to stop his advance. A pitched battle was fought and it was the only first of a series of tough encounters which Alexander the Great had to face from now onward (Dar: 1986:177).

After defeating Aspasioi, he crossed the River Guraioi modern (Panjkora) to cope with the inhabitants of Talash valley in Dir and Bari Kot in Swat. He faced fierce resistance, especially at Massaga, Andaka, Bazira (Bari Kot, Swat), Ora (Odhegram, Swat) and Aornos while proceeding along the hilly trace. It has always been a controversial matter among historians to mark the exact location of Massaga. In the beginning most of the scholars identified Massaga with Kalash valley in Chitral district. Olaf Caroe identified Kat Kala with Massaga, which is situated at western end of Dir (Caroe: 1958:53). However, G. Tucci identified Alegram (Swat) with Massaga, on the basis of archaeological evidences. According to Greek sources that after the conquest of Bazira, the Greek army besieged Massaga. According to them that Massaga was situated across the river in the lap of the hills. They also mentioned that Ora (Odhegram) was successfully conquered later by Alexander's army.

Recently, a survey was conducted by the Bardfort and Peshawar University Mission with the collaboration of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums Government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa supported the Tucci assertion that Chitral has no evidences of Greek antiquity and therefore cannot be considered as the Massaga of Alexander the Great. After above discussion we may claim here that Alegram located across the Swat River represent a far better candidate.

Tucci further claims that after the occupation of Ora (Odhegram) the inhabitants of Bazira (Bari Kot) including some other tribes fled during night after Greek attack and took shelter in the Petra 'the rock' which Arrianus called Aornos a common place of any sheltered place, while Sir Aurel Stein identified Aorone with Unasar, Pirsar to the north of Chahezar, overlooking the Indus (Stein: 1929:30). After a tough resistance Alexander conquered Bazira and Ora respectively, both are situated in Swat valley and they were also assisted by Abhisares, the people from Punch and Hazara. The people of Bazira gave a sharp resistance to the Alexander General Coenus that Alexander had to personally rush to cope with situation. But with fall of Ora the people of this area lost heart and took shelter up in the hills.

This exhausting and tiresome expedition made Alexander doubtful about the peace of this area and he turned Ora, Massaga and Bazira into strongholds for the defence purposes. After all these arrangements, he marched southward to meet the other division of his army sent down the Kabul River to enter in the Peshawar valley. So far this division had failed to achieve their aim. Although Alexander received submission of

Pushkalavati and he placed a Macedonian garrison there. After all these arrangement, once again he moved back to northward to conquer the Rock of Aornos. Aornos was his last remarkable operation before crossing the mighty Indus. On his way to Aornos, he stored large supplies at Embolima that might require for future. Arrianus narrates that Alexander started from Embolima, encamped in a suitable place and marched the next day to the bottom of Aornos. When he conquered the rock of Aornos, he handed it over to Sisikottas (Shashi Gupta) with a garrison. Both the division re-joined at Hund or ancient Udabhandapur or Ohind, located on the right bank of the Indus River (Marshall: 1923:68).

Thus the first stage of Alexander's campaign of the Indus land came to an end. Celebration and sport competitions were arranged, sacrifices were offered at Hund before crossing the mighty Indus. Alexander already had received tidings of good will and cooperation by Ambhi the king of Taxila even a year before he crossed the Hindu Kush. King Ambhi received unprecedented benevolence and all other chieftains who offered their homage to Alexander were equally treated. The king Ambhi actively assisted Greek army by contributing 5000 troops to cope with Raja Poros of Jhelum, who later on engaged Greek army in a fierce battle on the bank of river Hydaspes (Jhelum) Alexander ever had in his life (Wheeler: 1962:25-8).

From Taxila, Alexander sent an envoy to Porus asking him to pay tributes and come to meet him. According to Curtius Alexander thought that by mere the prestige of his name, Porus also would be induced to surrender, sent Cleocheres to tell him that he must pay tribute or come to meet him at the very frontiers of his own dominions. Porus answered that he would prefer the second of these demands and challenged Alexander to come armed for battle (Prakash: 1994:39). Both the kings had drawn their armies besides the river Hydaspes (Jhelum). During the march to the Hydaspes the Greek army became acquainted with another of India's marvels- the tropical rainstorm. The Indian king fought bravely, but Alexander managed to defeat him after a difficult river-crossing (Bamm Peter: 1968:277). An analytical study of Greek accounts and a study of Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Kalisthenes as well as History of the Jews and Firdusia Shah Nama conveniently show that the battle of the Jhelum ended in a treaty of peace between Porus and Alexander. In a result Alexander not only handed over the occupied territory of Raja Porus but also extended his empire (Dar: 1968: 101). To celebrate the victory and to commemorate his beloved war horse he found two new cities on the bank of river Jhelum. One, on the west bank where his camp had stood, known as Alexander Nicaea but its location is not certain. While the other city was built on the east bank, on the site where his horse was died and named after his horse Bucephalus (Woodcock: 1966:35). The Macedonian troops had crossed deserted lands, mighty rivers, snow clad mountains, rugged hills, and they fought many battles, finally reached successfully beyond the river Beas. The army refused to go beyond the Beas and Alexander failed to tempt his army for further march. It is generally believed that it was the homesickness of the Greek soldiers which forced them to mutiny on the bank of Beas. But this could not be the only reason of retreat because now they found themselves among more hostile peoples and he encountered strong resistances (Wheeler: 1962:25-8). From the Beas, they returned to Jhelum to embark on the expedition to seal down the Indus to Sindh. At Bucephala and Nicaea the shipbuilders had constructed some eighty light warships and also boats

for the transportation of goods. A unit of army under Craterus marched down the right bank of the river while Hephaestion led the elephant's corps down the left bank. And Philp covered the rear with a third unit. They camped below the junction of the Jhelum and Chenab and planned to conquer the southern Punjab. After a hard and bitter fight they occupied the Malli-or Mahlavi- now where the present Multan is situated. It is recorded that he himself was severely wounded in this battle. Alexander ordered here to construct two new cities at the junction of the Chenab and the Indus and the other down the river. But like most of the other cities he built in Punjab they were never heard again, and it is even doubtful that they had ever been completed these cities. Their next destination was Patala, at the mouth of Indus, close to the present day Hyderabad. He carried out a series of trips to explore the Indus delta and try his ships out on the Arabian Sea. He divided his Army into several units, sending Craterus with unfit soldiers and the elephants through Mulla Pass towards Arachosia. Nearchus was sent with the warships to explore the coast as far as the Persian Gulf. While Alexander himself marched along the arid coastlands of Gedrosia and eventually proceeded homeward to Babylon (Woodcock: 1966:39-41; Eggermont: 1975: 5). In May 324 B.C. he died by sudden attack of malaria (Dar: 1968: 185).

IV. Mauryan Dynasty & Seleucid kingdom:

The sudden death of Alexander the Great, far away from his home at Babylon in Mesopotamia on June 10, 323B.C, engulfed his vast empire in political crises (Errington, M. R: 2008:13). The entire kingdom was partitioned among his Generals and the Seleucids were Alexander's heirs in Bactria and in North West Asia (Tarn: 1985:1). On the other hand in India, Chandragupta the Maurya seized the throne of Magadha immediately after Alexander's death in 323 B.C; he laid the foundation of Mauryan Empire. The date of his accession to throne is not certain but it may be around 321B.C, the last year in which Porus was mentioned alive. But on other hand Justin, Trogus sources narrates that he got the throne at the time when Seleucus was busy to lay the foundation of his future greatness. It was the year 312B.C, in which Seleucus returned to Babylon and established Seleucid dynasty .While the Jain tradition mentioned his accession either in 312 or 313 B.C (ibid: 46-7). It is said that Chandragupta was personally very much impressed from Alexander the Great and he made a visit to Alexander's camp beside Hydaspes in his youth to see Alexander. (Bamm Peter: 1968: 73). By late 309B.C, Antigonos was defeated by Seleucus and he made himself secure in Babylonia, since he devoted the next few years to stretch his kingdom up to Iran and India. After crossing Indus he made a very famous matrimonial treaty with Chandragupta. In a result he received some 500 war elephants and he ceded some territories to Chandragupta, originally conquered by Alexander the great (Errington, M. R: 2008:38). We can't make any claim due to scanty record that any actual battle took place between the Seleucid kings and the Maurya(Woodcock: 1966:47). Chandragupta also received a daughter or perhaps a niece, though, the tradition is not very authentic (ibid: 65). The Seleucids and the Mauryas always had cor-

dial relation and Seleucus appointed one of his ambassadors named Megasthenes in Chandragupta's court (Tarn: 1985:129; Ibid: 49). Chandragupta was followed by his son Bindusara in 297 B.C. But the real pattern of the Mauryan Empire was King Asoka (272-32 B.C.). The political strength, tranquillity, prosperity and patronage of cultural and architecture of Mauryan Empire is attributed to King Asoka. According to different archaeological and literary sources that after Kalinga war, Asoka converted to Buddhism (c.262 B.C.). He was a great patron of Buddhism, sending missionaries from Pataliputra in various direction of the world to propagate the Buddhism (Smith: 1964: 162). A Singhalese Chronicle, the Mahavamsa, indicates that a Buddhist ascetic named Mashyantika, was sent by him to propagate Buddhism in Gandhara in 256 B.C. (Burgess: 1897:77; Murthy: 1977:2). The third Buddhist council was held under his patronage in Pataliputra. To the 'Yona country' of the Greeks in the Hindu Kush, Maharakshita was sent by the Buddhist Council, and to Gandhara, where Greeks were also settled. His major 13th Rock Edicts indicate that to whom the missionaries were sent actual the subjects of Ashoka. But the most striking evidence of Ashoka's interest in Greek population of his kingdom is the inscription in Greek and Aramaic which was discovered in 1958 on a rock overlooking the ancient trade route at Kandahar. The inscription is unique among Ashoka's edicts, since it is the only one we know up to the present that was written in non-Indian languages (Woodcock: 1966:54-5). Buddhist accounts and epigraphically records indicate that Gandhara, Qandhar and Lagman were parts of the Mauryan Empire. After Ashoka's death he was followed by a number of weak monarchs and the kingdom slowly disintegrated and finally came to an end with the assassination of the last emperor, Brihadathra by his general Pushyamitra in 184 B.C. In the last decades of Mauryan Empire the relation with Greek got weak (ibid: 60).

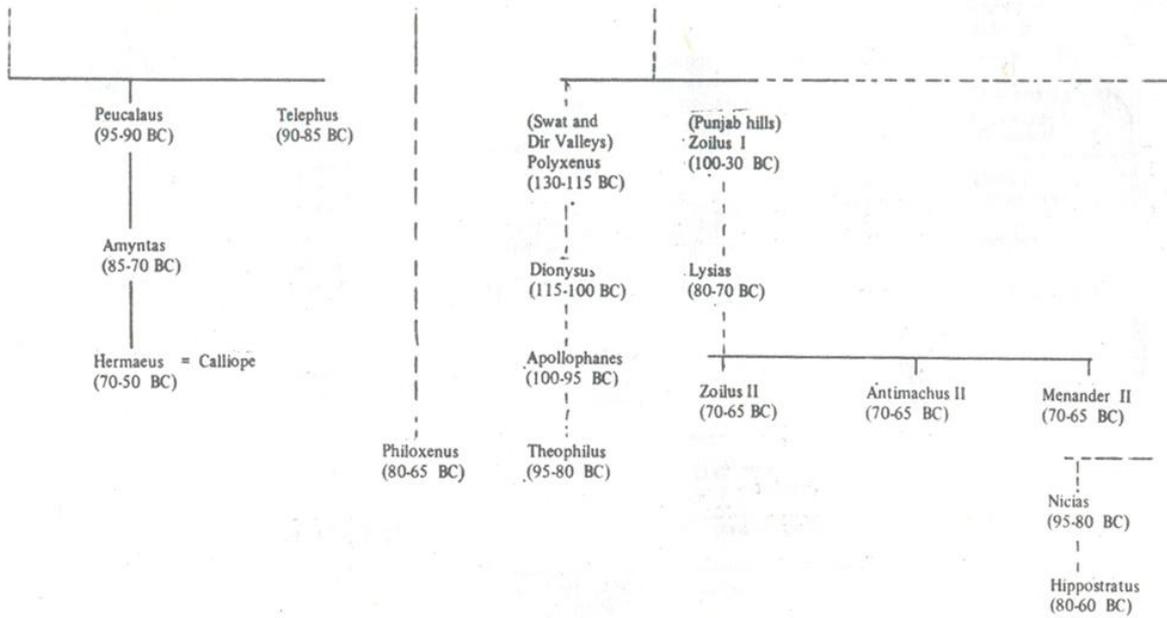
V. Greco-Bactrian and Indus-Greek.

About 245-42 B.C., Bactrian-Greeks revolted against the Seleucidian kings Antiochus II and one of the Greek colonists, Diodotus I, established a kingdom in Bactria, located on the bank of Oxus River (Rahim: 1998: 176; Ali, Ihsan: 2004:7). Later, these Bactrian Greeks under Demetrius I laid the foundation of Indus-Greek dynasty. They rule in the vast Gandhara region, replacing the Mauryans in 190 B.C. and founded their capital at Pushkalavati [Bala Hissar, Charsadda] (Wheeler: 1962: 45). Dani suggests that Menandar laid the foundation of the Greek cities of Pushkalavati (at Shaikhan Dheri) and Taxila (at Sirkup), as confirmed from the coins unearthed from these sites. Diodotus I was succeeded by his son Diodotus II. During the reign of Euthydemus, the third king of Bactria, Antiochus, the Seleucidian king made an unsuccessful attempt to reoccupy Bactria. But he couldn't succeed; he then made peace with Euthydemus by giving his daughter in marriage to Demetrius, son and successor of Euthydemus. Demetrius was destined to play a prominent part in the history of Bactria and Indo-Pakistan. He was the first Greek king, who after Alexander was responsible for carrying the Greek armies to the interior of Indo-Pakistan (Rahim: 1998: 49). He con-

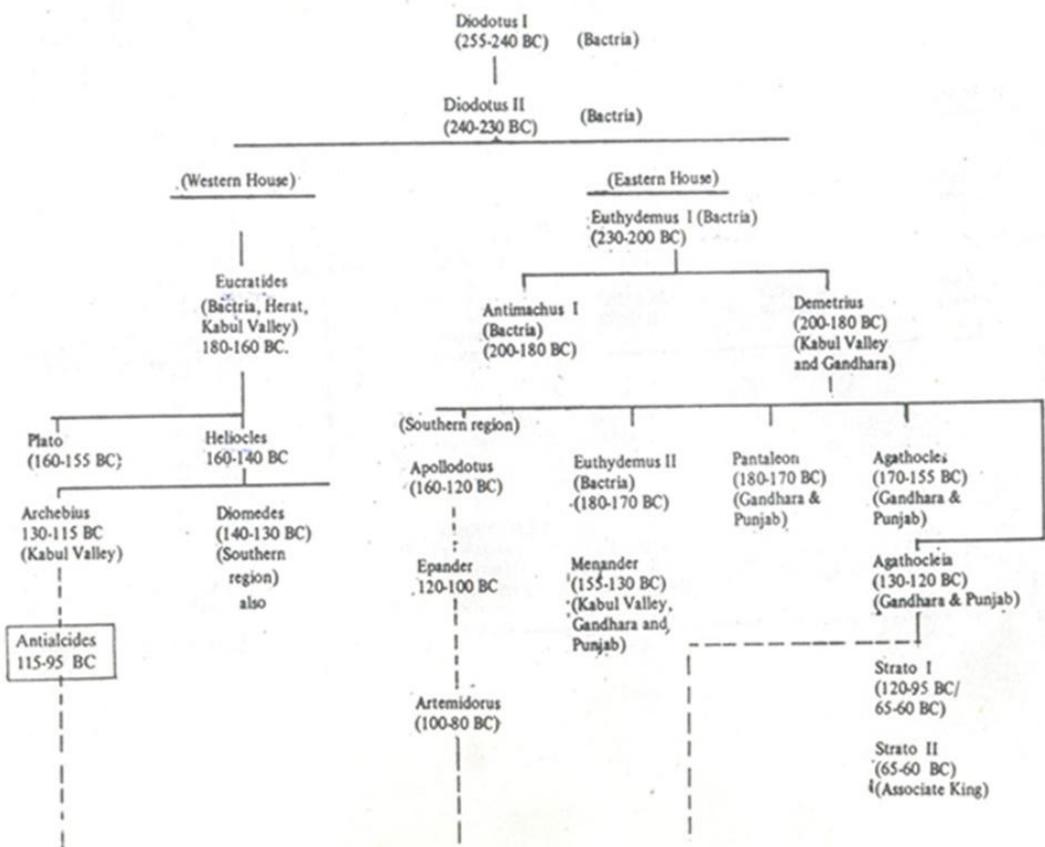
quered a large area of north-west India including Punjab and Sindh. While he was busy in conquering the territories of Indo-Pakistan. A Greek General Eukratides headed a revolt and made himself master of Bactria. Demetrius could not re-establish his authority in Bactria. His authority was confined to India only and that is why he was known as the king of Indians. Since that Greeks were divided into two houses the eastern and western houses (Dani: 1991:27-8). The western house comprised of Bactria, Kabul and Sodgiana and they were known as Greco-Bactrian, where the eastern house containing Gandhara was called Indus-Greek. The Indus-Greek ruled over Gandhara for about one hundred years (190 B.C. till 90 B.C.). The Indus-Greek not only strengthened the region politically but also established various cities at different localities, like the cities of Sirkap (Taxila), Bala Hisar, Shaikhan Dheri (Charsadda), etc. The famous Indus-Greek king Menandar (c. 150 B.C.) was converted to Buddhism by a certain Buddhist monk Nagasena, who later erected a stupa at Bajaur for the propagation of Buddhism.

Excavations (2004) at Aziz Dheri, Gangu Dher (Swabi) led to the discovery of coins from Menander's reign from strata below the Scythian level, confirming the first Indus-Greek site in the region. Hopefully, further excavations in the area will provide additional confirmation of Indo-Greek presence in Gandhara.

The Indus-Greeks were defeated by the Sakas (Indo-Scythians) in 90 B.C. The numismatics evidences show that almost 39 Greek kings and 3 Queens ruled over Bactria and Indo-Pakistan. A.K.Narain, in his book, 'The coin Types of the Indo-Greek Kings' presented an authentic chart of the genealogy and chronology of the Greek kings, based both on the Museum and private collection. He listed the name of 37 Indo-Greek rulers with their accession dates (Narain: 1976-38). This chart was further modify by Dani in his book, 'Bactrian and Indus- Greek, 'A Romantic Story from their Coins' and he mentioned the name of 39 kings and 3 queens with their ruling territories on the basis of coins reported form the different sites of north Pakistan and Punjab. Below there is a detail genealogical chart presented by Ahmad Hasan Dani (Dani: 1991:27-28)..



GENEOLOGICAL CHART OF THE GREEK RULERS



Bibliography

- Ali, Ihsan & Qazi, Naeem, Muhammad., 2008. Gandharan Sculptures in the Peshawar museum. Peshawar.
- Ali, Ihsan., 2003. Frontier Archaeology Vol.1, Peshawar.
- Ali, Ihsan., 2004. Catalogue of Coins in Peshawar Museum-1(Kushan Period), Frontier Archaeology Avari,
- B., 2007. India: The ancient Past, A history of the Indian-Subcontinent from 7000 B.C to A.D 1200. New York. II. Peshawar.
- Ed. Arnason, P. J, Eisenstadt, N. S, Wittrock, B., 2004, Asian Civilization and world History , Netherlands
- Bamm, Peter., 1962. Alexander the Great Power as Destiny. London.
- Boomfield, M., 1908. The Religion of the Veda: The Ancient Religion Of India, New York.
- Briant, P., 2002.tr. From Cyrus to Alexander: A history of the Persian Empire. U.S.A.
- Burgess, James., 1897. The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures
- Caroe, Olafe., 1953. The PArthans: 550 B.C-A.D. 1957. Macmillan & Co LTD, London.
- Dandamaev, A, M & Vogelesang , J, V., 1989. A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire. Neherlands.
- Dar, R. S., 1984. Taxila and the Western world. Lahore.
- Dani, A.H., 1991. Bactrian and Indus Greek, A Romantic Story from their Coins, Lahore of India (Part 1). London.
- Docherty, P., 2008. The Khyber Pass: A history of Empire and invasion, New York.
- Eggermont. L.H.P., 1975. Alexander's campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the siege of the Brahmin town of Harmatelia. Louvain.
- Errington, M. R., 2008. A history of the Hellenistic World 323-30 BC. Australia.
- Faria, R. C., 2007. Concise Encyclopedia of World History. New Delhi.
- Grabbe, L. L., 2004. A History of the Jews and Judaism in the second Temple Period, Vol. I. New York.
- Greenberger, R., 2003. A historical Atlas of Pakistan. New York.
- Grunwedel, A., 1999. Buddhist Art in India, rp. New Delhi.
- Gupta, P.L., 1994. Kushana Coins and History. New Delhi.
- Herodotus. (1971) Herodotus, with an English translation, II, Trans. Godley, D. A. London.
- Herodotus. (1992) ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ, III, Trans. ΣΠΗΥΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Σ. ΗΑΙΑ, ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΓΚΟΒΟΣΤΗ
- Harrison, T. 2009. The Great Empire of the Ancient World, London.
- Humbach, H & Ichaporia, R. P., 1998. Zamyad Yasht: Yasht 19 of the younger Avesta Text, Translation, commerntary. Germany.
- Kerr, F, R. S & Edin, F, A. S., 1824. A general history and collection of voyages and travels. London
- Marshall, J.H., 1923-24. Archaeological survey of India, Annual Report(repr.1990).Delhi.
- Miller, L. P., 2011. Becoming God pure reason in Early Greek philosophy. ?
- Murthy, Krishna, 1977. The Gandharan Sculptures: A cultural survey. Delhi.
- Narain.K.A., 1976. The coin types of the Indo-Greek Kings, USA.
- Prakash, Buddha., 1994, Poros the great, Lahor.
- Puri, N. B., 1993, Rp. Buddhism in central Asia. Delhi.
- Puri, B.N., 1965. India under the Kushana. Bombay.
- Rahim, G. 1998, ' coinage in Pakistan' The Glory that was Pakistan, 50 years of Archaeological Research in Pakistan. A photographic exhibition Feb-March, 1998. Ed. By F.A Durrani and Ihsan Ali. Peshawar Museum.Peshawar.
- Rapson, E. J., 1914. Ancient India: From the earliest times to the first century A.D. New York.
- Rawlinson, H.C., 1846. Persian cuneiform inscription at Behistun, Deciphered and Translated; with a memoir of Persian cuniformal incriptions in general, and on that of Behsitun in particular. Vol X. Royal Asiatic society. London.
- Rawlinson, G. 1859. The History of Herodotus. London.
- Rothermund , D,& Kulke, H., 2004, A History of India, 4th ed. New York.
- Sarton, G., 1952. Ancient Science through the Golden Age of Greece. U.S.A.
- Sagar, K. C., 1992. Foreign influence on ancient India. New Delhi.
- Schlerath, B., 1980. Sanskrit vocabulary. Netherlands.
- Sen, Nath. S., 1999. Ancient Indian History and civilization, 2nd ed. New Delhi.
- Sharma, S., 1985. Life in the Upanishads. India.

- Sing, Upinder., 2008. A history of ancient and early medieval India: From the stone age to the 12th century. Delhi.
- Stine, A.Sir, 1929. On Alexander's track to the Indus, (Reprint) London.
- Tarn.W.W, 1985, The Greeks in Bactria&India, America.
- Tripathi, S. R., rp. 1992. History of ancient India. Delhi.
- Vassiliades, T. D., 2000. The Greeks in India: A Survey in Philosophical understanding. New Delhi.
- Vogelsang, W., 2002. The Afghans. United kingdom.
- Wheeler, R.E.M., 1962.Charsadda; a Metropolis of the North West-Frontier, London.
- Woodcock, G., 1966. The Greeks in India, London.
- Williams. M. M., 1st edition 1899-1995. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Delhi.